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EASTERN

F.O.
371

1948

PALESTINE

FILE No.4.....

pp 3636 - 3959

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1948

PALESTINE

E 3636

18 MAR 1948

Registry
Number E3636/4/31

TELEGRAM FROM

United Kingdom
No. Delgation
NEW YORK
907Dated
Top Secret
Received in Registry 17th Mar
18th "

Last Paper.

2635

References.

68539

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Mar 19

(Action
completed.)

(Index)

Next Paper.

3655

Permanent Members Committee.

Refers New York telegram No, 906 E3628/4/31) 4/17/48
Austin informed that replies received from Arab
states and Jewish Agency as to whether they would use
their influence to bring about an immediate truce in
Palestine, were, Arab states and Higher Committee
would agree provided Partition plan was suspended,
Jewish Agency would consult their people in Palestine.
Reference United States Trusteeship plan member of
their delegation expressed view that since it involved
suspension of Assembly plan Arabs could be induced
to accept it as a "third Choice" failing immediate
establishment of a unitary state.

(Minutes.)

See E 3628

J. Balfour
18/3

22/3 1948

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See final as top copy.

E 3636

18 MAR 1948

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Cypher/OTF

DIPLOMATIC SECRET DISTRIBUTION

FROM NEW YORK TO FOREIGN OFFICE

(From United Kingdom Delegation to the United Nations)

No. 907 D. 7. 45 p.m. 17th March, 1948.
17th March, 1948. R. 3. 10 a.m. 18th March, 1948.

Repeated to Jerusalem
Washington
British Middle East Office Cairo

IMMEDIATE
TOP SECRET
LIGHT

Addressed to Foreign Office telegram No. 907 of 17th March repeated for information to Jerusalem, Washington and B.M.E.O. Cairo.

My immediately preceding telegram and my telegram No. 891.

Palestine.

Austin informed me at meeting this morning that in reply to enquiry by four powers to representatives of Jewish Agency and Arab states as to whether they would agree to use their influence to bring about an immediate truce in Palestine, Jewish Agency representatives had replied that they must consult their people in Palestine, on whom physical consequences would fall. Arab states and Arab Higher Committee had indicated that they would agree to use their influence as suggested provided partition plan was suspended.

2. With regard to United States Trusteeship plan outlined in my immediately preceding telegram, a member of United States delegation expressed the view that since it involved suspension of Assembly plan Arabs could be induced to accept it as a "third choice" i.e. failing immediate establishment of a unitary or federal state.

Please repeat important to Jerusalem and B.M.E.O. Cairo as my telegrams Nos. 226 and 13 respectively.

[Copy sent to Telegraph Section Colonial Office for repetition to Jerusalem. Reported to B.M.E.O. Cairo]

[Copy sent to M.E. Secretariat]

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E

E 3655

4

1948

PALESTINE

19 MAR 1948

Registry
Number E3655/4/31

TELEGRAM FROM

No. United Kingdom
Delegation.
NEW YORK

Dated 912

TOP SECRET.

in Registry 18th Mar
19th "Permanent Members draft report to Security
CouncilRefers New York telegram No, 908 of 17th Mar
(E3629/4/31) Word "four" in first sentence should
"three".Understands from United States delegate that Soviet
delegation have so far been informed only of gist
of first nine paragraphs of telegram under reference
and have not yet clarified their attitude.
Hopes further information on this point shortly.

Last Paper.

3636

(Minutes)

References.

(Print.)

(How disposed of.)

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CME 3656
Mar 14th(Action
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Next Paper.

3656

36471 P.O.P.

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Cypher/OTP

DIPLOMATIC (SECRET) DISTRIBUTION

FROM NEW YORK TO FOREIGN OFFICE

(From United Kingdom Delegation to United Nations)

No. 912.

March 18th, 1948.

D. 11.11.a.m. March 18th, 1948.

R. 5.31.p.m. March 18th, 1948.

Repeated to Jerusalem.

Washington.

B.M.E.O. Cairo.

E 3655

MOST IMMEDIATE.

19 MAR 1948

TOP SECRET

LIGHT

Addressed Foreign Office telegram 912 March 18th,
repeated for information to Jerusalem, Washington and
B.M.E.O. Cairo.

My telegram 908: Palestine.

Word "four" in first sentence should read "three".

2. I understand from United States delegation that Soviet delegation have so far been informed only of the gist of first nine (repeat nine) paragraphs in my telegram under reference and have not yet clarified their attitude. I hope for further information on this point shortly.

Foreign Office please repeat to Jerusalem and British Middle East Office Cairo as my telegrams 229 and 16 respectively both Immediate.

[Copy sent to Middle East Secretariat.

[Repeated to British Middle East Office Cairo]

[Copy sent to Cypher Section, Commonwealth Relations Department, for repetition to Jerusalem.]

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19 MAR 1948

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E

E 3656

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19 MAR 1948

1948

PALESTINE

Registry
Number E3656/4/31

TELEGRAM FROM

United Kingdom
No. Delegation
NEW YORKDated
Top ~~secret~~ 915
in Registry
18th Mar
19th "Permanent Members draft to Security Council

Refers New York telegram No. 908 of Mar 17th
(E3629/4/31) Transmits modifications which have
been made in draft with object of making it more
acceptable to Gromyko.

Despite modifications Gromyko (who has not seen
last three paras of draft) was unwilling to accept,
but other three members intend to present the whole
draft as revised to Gromyko, stating that while
they hope for his concurrence, they will in any
case present it as coming from themselves.
Askd earliest comments on United States proposals.

Last Paper.

3655

References.

(Print.)

(How disposed of.)

8, Walsman, 61
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M-1.3a
M104
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G.M.
Mar 19

(Action
completed.)

J.H. 22/3

(Index)

J.H. 22/3

Next Paper.

3663

(Minutes.)

D. Balfour
12/3

A tel. was sent to N.Y.

(on another paper) this morning.

H.B. 12/3

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Cypher/OTP

DIPLOMATIC SECRET DISTRIBUTION

FROM NEW YORK TO FOREIGN OFFICE

No. 915 D. 3. 48 p.m. 18th March, 1948
18th March, 1948. R. 10. 25 p.m. 18th March, 1948.

Repeated to Jerusalem

Washington

British Middle East Office: **Cairo 3656**

MOST IMMEDIATE

TOP SECRET

LIGHT

19 MAR 1948

Addressed to Foreign Office telegram No. 915 of
March 18th repeated to Jerusalem Washington and B.M.E.O
Cairo for information

My telegrams No. 908 and 912.

Palestine

Ross of United States delegation informed us this morning that following modifications have been made in draft in my first telegram under reference with object of making it more acceptable to Gromyko.

2. Draft has been divided into two sections under Roman numerals I and II: I includes present paragraphs 1 - 8 and II includes remaining paragraphs, renumbered as 1 - 4. In the first paragraph of draft, for "conclusions" read "facts". In paragraph 5, delete last sentence (this is a State Department suggestion not yet adopted by United States delegation). In paragraph II 1 (formerly 9) read "find and report that a continuation of the infiltration into Palestine by land and by sea of groups and persons with the purpose of taking part in violence would aggravate still further the situation, and recommend" etc. Sub-paragraph (B) of same paragraph now reads "that the Security Council... to bring about the immediate cessation of violence and the restoration of peace and order in Palestine".

3. Despite suggested modifications Gromyko (who has not (repeat not) yet seen last three paragraphs of draft) was unwilling yesterday to accept revised text because it did not declare an immediate threat to peace and because ~~and because~~ he was suspicious as to effect on Jewish immigration of passage about "infiltration of hostile elements". Intention of United States Delegation is however that they, together with French and Chinese, should

/ this evening

19 MAR 1948

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U.K. Del. New York telegram No. 915 to Foreign
Office

-2-

this evening present whole (repeat whole) draft as now revised to Gromyko, and say that in view of urgency of situation they feel that some proposals must be forthcoming from permanent members at Council meeting tomorrow, and that while they hope for his concurrence in the draft they will in any case present it at the meeting as from themselves. They do not expect Gromyko to agree to last three paragraphs, and Ross agreed with me that Gromyko will most probably ask for time to consider his attitude when proposals are put forward in the Council.

4. Ross again emphasised his Government's desire to learn our attitude if possible before tomorrow's meeting and in general to receive maximum possible co-operation from His Majesty's Government. Their hope is that a special Assembly can be called under their plan soon enough to enable details of trusteeship scheme to be worked out before May 15th (sub paragraph (B) of my telegram No. 909 which records comments made by Rusk to Trafford Smith at a working group of United States, French and Chinese experts which latter attended in the capacity of observer). You will recall that under rules 7 and 9 of Assembly rules of procedure an interval of 15 days must elapse between request for a special session by the Security Council and summoning of that session.

5. I told Ross that I could not guarantee that I should be authorised to support United States proposals, and I shall not (repeat not) attend meeting this evening at which draft is to be presented to Gromyko. I also pointed out that words "the permanent members" at the beginning of paragraph II 1 (formerly 9) of the draft should be amended so as to refer to the three or four permanent members (i.e. excluding ourselves), as the case may be. On the other hand, subject to your views I do not see any similar objection to the phrase "the permanent members" in the first paragraph of all, since it merely introduces findings of fact in paragraphs 1 - 8.

6. I should be grateful for your earliest possible comments on United States proposals and in any case for an indication of line I should take in Security Council, which should reach me not later than 9 a.m. New York time tomorrow, March 19th.

Please repeat immediate to Jerusalem and important to B.M.E.O. Cairo as my telegrams Nos 230 and 17 respectively.

[Copy sent to Telegraph Section Colonial Office for repetition to Jerusalem. Repeated to B.M.E.O.]

[Copy sent to M.E.Secretariat]

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9

PALESTINE

20 MAR 1948

1948

Registry Number E3698/4/31

TELEGRAM FROM
United Kingdom
No. Delegation.Dated New York
931Received in Registry
19th Mar
20th "Report of Permanent Members to Security CouncilRefers New York telegram No, 915 of March 18th.
(E3656/4/31)Austin reported to Security Council result of
consultations between the permanent members, he read
report as per New York telegram No 908.
Gromyko criticised this speech, gives text of his
statement.
After further consultations Council adjourned for ~~XXXX~~
further consultation among permanent members.

Last Paper.

3692

References.

(Print.)

(How disposed of.)

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M104
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Mar 23(Action
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Next Paper.

3699

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FROM NEW YORK TO FOREIGN OFFICE

20 MAR 1948

(From United Kingdom Delegation to United Nations)

No. 931 D. 10.35 p.m. 19th March, 1948
19th March, 1948 R. 5.35 a.m. 20th March, 1948

Repeated to Jerusalem and Saving to Washington.

IMMEDIATE
LIGHT
GIANT

Addressed to Foreign Office telegram No. 931 of March 19th,
repeated for information to Jerusalem and Saving to Washington.

By telegram No. 915.

Palestine.

Austin (United States) reported to Security Council this morning result of consultations between the permanent members. Agreement had been reached between China, France and the United States, the Soviet delegate would no doubt make his position clear. He then read report substantially identical with text in my telegram No. 908 as amended by my telegram under reference but omitting last three paragraphs.

2. Gromyko criticised Austin's speech on the lines that results of consultations would have been more significant if they had been directed towards the definite end of carrying out partition rather than side-tracked into consideration of possible modification of General Assembly plan. He rehearsed familiar arguments against further consultation with Jewish Agency, Arab Higher Committee, Mandatory Power and Palestine Commission. United States efforts in this direction had resulted simply in further delay. Soviet Union could not be associated with any proposal to reopen Palestine question overtly or covertly. In their view, task before the Council was to implement Assembly resolution and any idea of deviating from it must be rejected.

3. Syrian delegate (Maris Bey) then made a short statement on behalf of Syria and Arab States amplifying that reported in paragraph 4 of my telegram No. 900 with following points:

(a) Arabs eagerly desired peace with justice in Palestine and were ready to use all possible means to that end.

(b) Partition plan and any activity in the way of implementing it were sole causes of present acts of violence

there. When

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New York telegram No. 951 to R.C.

- 2 -

there. When these causes were removed, law and order would automatically be restored.

4. The Jews (Paris Bey continued) were receiving heavy reinforcements of men in monthly immigration quota together with shipments of munitions from all over Europe. Arabs were deprived of these privileges. If Jewish terrorists were disarmed, Arabs would willingly disarm and would be ready to co-operate in finding peaceful democratic solution guaranteeing liberties of all.

5. As regards consultations between permanent members, they should have realised that General Assembly's plan could not be put into effect without use of force, and that Security Council was not empowered to use force. As regards part II paragraph 1 of United States report, permanent members should realise that they were not dealing with armies but with warring sections of the same population. Appeals to cease fire would be ineffective unless causes of hostility were removed. He pointed out that the Assembly had no power to delegate authority to the Commission to take over the Government of Palestine, since Trusteeship (which did not apply to Palestine) was the only conceivable way in which Assembly could exercise administrative authority.

6. Chairman (Tsiang) speaking on behalf of Chinese delegation said that United States report had his full concurrence. Chinese delegation had been responsible for inclusion of reference to incursions and infiltration "by land and sea". Paramount object was to prevent a threat to the peace from developing and to this end both parties must co-operate in stopping the accumulation of arms and manpower.

7. Jewish Agency representative (Silver) said that he assumed United States report was introductory to resolutions to be introduced later and Agency would reserve final judgement until resolutions were known.

8. As regards the report, part I paragraph 4: If "under present conditions" were emphasised, the Agency could agree. Reason why the Assembly plan could not be peacefully implemented was the failure of the Arab States to observe the Charter and their attempt to counter the Assembly's decision by force. References to incursions of armed elements by sea as well as by land were inaccurate. The Mandatory Power had not (repeat not) confirmed these incursions. Immigrants were not armed and in any case it was entirely wrong to equate Arab and Jewish infiltration.

9. Paris Bey

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12
New York telegram No.951 to F.O.

- 3 -

9. Faris Bey then entered a protest against the Jewish charge that the Arab States were breaking their pledges under the Charter.

10. Council thereupon adjourned for further consultation among permanent members. See my immediately following telegram.

Foreign Office please pass important to Jerusalem as my telegram No.252.

[Copy sent to Telegraph Section, Colonial Officer for repetition to Jerusalem].

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E 3699

13

1948

PALESTINE

20 MAR 1948

Registry
Number E3699/4/31TELEGRAM FROM
United Kingdom
No. Delegation
New York

Dated 933

Received
in Registry 19th March
20th "United States proposal for a Trusteeship Council
for Palestine.

Transmits text of United States statement referred to in New York telegram No 932. In which they believe that a temporary Trusteeship for Palestine should be established under the Trusteeship Council of the United Nations, with the object of affording a further opportunity for the interested parties to reach an agreement regarding the future Government of Palestine.

Last Paper.

3698

(Minutes)

References.

(Print.)

(How disposed of.)

8. Waltham, E.
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Scherer m11

M-1.3a

M104

Admby

AW

Mar 22

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(Action
completed.)

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3/12/48

Next Paper.

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~~Open~~

March, 1948

194

Despatched

M.

Draft. UKDEL
New York

MOST IMMEDIATE.

Addressed to Washington
for information to Washington
Telegram.

No. 1246

(Date) March 20th

Repeat to:—

Repeat Washington
3204

~~Ex-Clair.~~
~~Coder~~
Cypher.

Distribution:—

World Organisat-

RECEIVED IN C.B. 11.

22 MAR 1948

TO DEPT.

Copies to:—

I should welcome your immediate advice on the procedural problems arising out of the latest American proposal on Palestine.

2. Senator Austin's proposals are now before the Security Council and I presume that they will be vetoed by the Soviet Union, who will thereby prevent the Security Council from superseding the original General Assembly decision. I am not clear what happens next. Will there be a resolution in the Security Council that it cannot take any further action? Or will the latest report of the Palestine Commission be taken by the Security Council with a special vote upon it? Would this in turn be regarded as a procedural matter, and, if so, would the result be that the United States Government would call for a new General Assembly? Alternatively, is the United States Government likely to ~~not~~ ^{cut} through all these possible sources of delay by asking the Secretary General ^{at once} to consult the members of the United Nations ~~at once~~ ^{immediately} with a view to ~~convening~~ ^{calling} a new Assembly ~~soon~~.

3. I should also be grateful for any information about the reactions of the members of the Palestine Commission to Senator Austin's proposal.

4. The Cabinet are considering this question on Monday morning, March 22nd, and I should therefore be grateful for a reply to this telegram by tomorrow evening, March 21st.

NOTHING TO BE WRITTEN IN THIS MARGIN.

W.L. 43697-140 100m 3147 G.S.S. Cp 620

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(To United Kingdom Delegation to United Nations)

Repeated to Washington No. 3204

Addressed to United Kingdom Delegation New York
telegram No. 1246 of 20th March repeated for information
to Washington.

2. Senator Austin's proposals are now before the Security Council and I presume that they will be vetoed by the Soviet Union, who will thereby prevent the Security Council from superseding the original General Assembly decision. I am not clear what happens next. Will there be a resolution in the Security Council that it cannot take any further action? Or will the latest report of the Palestine Commission be taken by the Security Council with a special vote upon it? Would this in turn be regarded as a procedural matter, and, if so, would the result be that the United States Government would call for a new General Assembly? Alternatively, is the United States Government likely to cut through all these possible sources of delay by asking the Secretary General at once to consult the members of the United Nations with a view to convening a new General Assembly?

4. The Cabinet are considering this question on Monday morning, March 22nd, and I should therefore be grateful for a reply to this telegram by tomorrow evening, March 21st.

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1948

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PALESTINE

20 MAR 1948

Registry Number E3700/4/31

TELEGRAM FROM

United Kingdom
No. Delegation

Dated 936
SECRET
Received in Registry 19th Mar
20th %

United States proposal for a Trusteeship Council
for Palestine.

Refers New York telegram No, 934, Rusk told Jebb
that the United States proposa for a United Nations
Trusteeship for Palestine would be on following
lines:

Transmits list of same.

Last Paper.

3699

References.

(Minutes.)

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(Print.)

(How disposed of.)

8, Matheson, P
Sherman tab 244
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Mar 22
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(Action completed.)

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PP 11
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Next Paper.

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(From United Kingdom Delegation to the United Nations)

No. 936
19th March, 1948.

D. 11. 55 p.m. 19th March, 1948.
R. 7. 20 a.m. 20th March, 1948.

Repeated to Washington
Jerusalem

IMMEDIATE
SECRET
LIGHT
GIANT

Addressed to Foreign Office telegram No.936 of March
19th repeated for information to Washington and Jerusalem.

My telegram No. 934. 1-12.

Palestine.

Rusk told Jebb this afternoon that the United States proposal for a U.N. trusteeship for Palestine would be on the following lines.

(a) A "neutral" Governor should be selected by the Trusteeship Council and given wide powers subject to general directions to be issued by the Trusteeship Council.

(b) The Administration should then be selected by the Governor.

(c) The Administration should be assisted by an Advisory Council on which presumably both Arabs and Jews would be represented.

(d) The Administration would have inter alia power to collect taxes and maintain order. If insufficient money was raised locally the United Nations would have to supply the deficit.

(e) For maintaining internal order the Governor would recruit a police force (apparently persons from outside Palestine could be recruited). If however this police force was insufficient to maintain order the Governor would be authorised to appeal to three permanent members of the Security Council - namely the United States the United Kingdom and France - to provide the necessary forces. The reason why these three powers would be selected

/ was because they

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New York U.K.Del. telegram No.936 to Foreign Office

-2-

was because they represented the allied and associated powers who had figured in the constitution of the original mandate.

(f) Though this was not definite it seems that in the event of an appeal the three powers would have to supply forces in equal proportions.

2. Rusk then made a strong appeal for British support for a plan on these general lines. He said that the scheme proposed would at least keep the Russians out of Palestine except to the extent that they might participate in the control of the trust if they should elect to join the Trusteeship Council. Jebb confined himself to asking questions in order to get the American position clear. He thus enquired whether in the American view, if His Majesty's Government backed up the proposed scheme, they would still be able to maintain their proposed dates for evacuation. Rusk did not answer this question directly but said something to the effect that he supposed that the British withdrawal would have to be "phased". Jebb had the distinct impression however that the American hope was to get a Governor installed before May 15th, who would then appeal for assistance to the three powers, which would in turn mean that any British troops then in the country would have to stay and some would no doubt have to return along (it is to be supposed) with the Americans and French (Rusk at one stage employed the word "Marines").

Foreign Office please pass important to Jerusalem as my telegram No. 237.

[Copy sent to Colonial Office for repetition to Jerusalem]

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LAST
308

E

E 3701

20

1948

PALESTINE

22 MAR 1948

Registry
Number E3701/4/31

TELEGRAM FROM

United Kingdom

No. Delegation.
NEW YORK
944

Dated: 68888888

Received
in Registry20th Mar
22nd "United States Trusteeship Proposal.

Refers Foreign Office telegram No, 1246.
Agrees the Gromyko will probably veto all parts of
United States Proposal and that if question is raised
of whether decision to request a special session is
procedural he will "double veto" to defeat it.
Alternatively he may possibly adopt the line that
Palestine is a "strategic area" and that Security Coun-
cil is alone competent to approve terms of trusteeship
under article 83(1) of the Charter without intervention
of Assembly.

(Minutes.)

Last Paper.

3700

References.

V.N. Political Dept.

D. B. Alpin
22/3H.B. 227
3

(Print.)

(How disposed of.)

8, Blackman, 80
Kermon, 60
Scherr, 1.1.5.
M.I. 3a.
M. 34
Adams
Rat.

Mar 22

(Action
completed.)

✓ 6/11/30/3

(Index.)

3/12/48

Next Paper.

3710

30471 F.O.P

PUBLIC RECORD OFFICE

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FO 371 / 68539

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Cypher/OTP

WORLD ORGANISATION DISTRIBUTION

FROM NEW YORK TO FOREIGN OFFICE

(From United Kingdom Delegation to United Nations)

No. 944

20th March, 1948.

D. 4.42 p.m. 20th March, 1948.

R. 11.30 p.m. 20th March, 1948.

Repeated to Washington

MOST IMMEDIATE

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LIGHT

GIANT

3701

22 MAR 1948

Addressed to Foreign Office telegram No. 944 of March 20th repeated for information to Washington.

Your telegram No. 1246.

Palestine

I agree that Gromyko will probably veto all parts of United States proposal and that if question is raised of whether decision to request a special session is procedural he will use "double veto" to defeat it.

2. Alternatively Gromyko may possibly adopt the line that Palestine is a "strategic area" and that Security Council is alone competent to approve terms of trusteeship under Article 83 (1) of the Charter without intervention of Assembly. But this would be easy to vote down (since inter alia Assembly's consent will presumably be required for abandonment of its plan) and it is unlikely that he would in fact take this line as his whole position is founded on sanctity of Assembly resolution.

3. If United States proposal is vetoed and no other proposals are forthcoming case will presumably be dropped from Council's agenda which according to precedent could take place by a procedural vote. I do not expect that Council will feel obliged to take separate action on Commissions second report but if it did this would presumably consist merely of taking note.

4. As suggested in paragraph 2 of your telegram under reply I think that if Gromyko attempted to veto request for a special session United States Government would immediately have recourse to alternative procedure of securing concurrence of a simple majority of members of the United Nations. Under Assembly rules of procedure (rules 7 and 9) session could then be held ten days after such concurrence was obtained

/which might be

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-2-

which might be almost as speedy a procedure as request by Council. For this reason I think it possible that Gromyko would content himself in Council with abstaining on request for a special session. It seems unlikely in any case that United States Government would try to bypass Council in this matter unless and until they are confronted with a veto.

5. As regards reactions of Commission (your paragraph 3) I understand that they were (like the Jewish Agency representatives) not informed of United States proposals till the last moment. I do not yet know how the news has struck them except that Bunche intimated to Fletcher-Cooke this morning that they were not taking much interest in pursuing detailed arrangements concerning Palestine. Federspiel has suggested to a member of my staff that Commission might turn into the governing authority for Palestine under a trusteeship plan but I doubt whether this reflects considered view of his colleagues nor does it seem to square with United States views as outlined by Rusk to Jebb (my telegram No. 936).

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E 3710

23

1948

PALESTINE

MAR 1948

Registry Number E3710/4/31

TELEGRAM FROM
United Kingdom
Delegation
No. NEW YORK
932Dated
~~SECRET~~Received in Registry 19th March
22nd "

Last Paper.

3701

References.

(Print.)

(How disposed of.)

8, Matthews f.o.
Adelman f.o. app
Scherr M15
M13a
M104
Admky
AM

Mar 22

(Action
completed.)

7/11/22

(Index)

3/12/48

Next Paper.

3711

United States Trusteeship Proposal for Palestine.

Refers New York telegram No, 931 (3698/4/31)
United States delegation did not after all present
their proposal for a trusteeship over Palestine to
Soviet delegation on March 18th as French delegation
had not yet received instructions.
Gives text of further discussions between Permanent
Members held during mid-day recess March 19th

(Minutes.)

D. Halper
22/3

H.B. 22/3

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Cypher/OTP

WORLD ORGANISATION DISTRIBUTION

FROM NEW YORK TO FOREIGN OFFICE

(From United Kingdom Delegation to the United Nations)

No. 932

19th March, 1948

D. 10.58 p.m. 19th March, 1948

R. 7.20 a.m. 20th March, 1948

Repeated to Jerusalem
Washington

IMMEDIATE

SECRET

GIANT

3710

22 MAR 1948

Addressed to Foreign Office telegram No. 932 of 19th March repeated for information to Jerusalem and Washington.

My immediately preceding telegram.

Palestine.

United States delegation did not after all present their proposal for a trusteeship over Palestine to Soviet delegation on March 18th as French delegation had not yet received instructions. During mid-day recess on March 19th however meeting of permanent members took place (which I thought it as well to attend subject to usual reservation of my position) at which Senator Austin read out statement contained in my immediately following telegram and invited comments. He expressed the hope that Chinese representative would present proposals therein on behalf of the permanent members whereupon he (Austin) would make a supporting statement.

2. Gromyko's reply was that he could not consent directly or indirectly to any such alteration of Assembly plan and would have to get instructions before he could comment further on United States proposal.

3. Chinese representative (Tsiang) said that United Nations should not promote partition plan since it would clearly lead to war in present circumstances and that some alternative solution must therefore be found. His Government had not thought of the trusteeship solution but had no alternative to offer though it was possible that other members of the Council might.

4. Parodi (France) said that trusteeship proposal must be considered carefully as it might lead to legal difficulties e.g., in regard to "States directly concerned". He also thought it important not to give the Arabs the impression that they were going to get all they wanted. He thought, however, that his Government would support the proposal.

5. Secretary General interposed to say that idea of a trusteeship for Palestine had been considered by U.N.S.C.O.P.

/ which had, however,

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- 2 -

6. As Chinese representative asked for my views I said that I would of course consult my Government on the proposal but, recalling statements already made on their behalf concerning their attitude to the implementation of the General Assembly's plan, I did not think they would be prepared to express any opinion as to the merits of any suggested departure from that plan.

8. For record of afternoon session of Council which followed see my telegram No. 934.

[Copy sent to Telegram Section, Colonial Office
for repetition to Jerusalem.]

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E 3711

1948

PALESTINE

22 MAR 1948

Registry
Number E5711/4/31

TELEGRAM FROM

Mr. Houston
No. BoswallDated BEIRUT
209
Received 19th Mar
in Registry 22nd "Statement by Azzam Pasha on Palestine.

Refers Beirut telegram No, 204, (3635/4/31)
Text of statement made by Azzam Pasha on March 18th who said that the Political Committee has discussed various aspects of the Palestine question and is of the opinion that it is desirable that the Arab Higher Committee should submit to the Security Council such statements and information as that body might request but only on the basis of the rejection of partition and the non-recognition of Jewish State in Palestine.

Last Paper.

2710

References.

(Print.)

(How disposed of.)

6, Matheson, 80
Sherman Col app
taken 11.5
11.1.39
1104
Adams
11.1
Mar 22

(Action
completed.)

(Index.)

G.L.M./4

31 4/68

Next Paper.

3734

(Minutes.)

This was not really an authoritative Press release.
See E 3736.

Includes an important statement that the Arab States will not invade Palestine unless otherwise. This is premature, however, in the form not of a declaration of policy but of an authoritative opinion only. And see also E 3736, para 2.

J. Balfour
22/3

Faris Bey Khoury, however, has said the same thing in the Egyptian Dept. Security Council.
UN (P.C.) Dept

H.B. 227
3

B. 227

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POLITICAL DISTRIBUTION

FROM BEIRUT TO FOREIGN OFFICE

Mr. Houstoun Boswell.
No. 209.

D. 6.41. p.m. 19th March 1948.

19th March 1948.

R. 9.14. p.m. 19th March 1948.

Repeated to U.K. Delegation New York,
Jerusalem,
B.M.E.O.
Damascus, Saving.
Cairo, "
Bagdad, "
Jedda, "
Amman. "

E 3711

22 MAR 1948

Addressed to Foreign Office No. 209 of March 19th
repeated to U.K. Delegation New York, Jerusalem, B.M.E.O.
and Saving to Damascus, Cairo, Bagdad, Jedda, Amman.

My telegram No. 204. Palestine; Arab League
Political Committee.

Following is a translation of statement made by
Azzam Pasha on March 18th as published in the local press.

2. The Political Committee has discussed various
aspects of the Palestine question and is of the opinion
that it is desirable that the Arab Higher Committee should
submit to the Security Council such statements and
information as that body might request but only on the
basis of the rejection of partition and the non-recognition
of Jewish State in Palestine. The Political Committee
having also considered United Nations' request to the
representatives of the Arab States at Lake Success to
restore calm in Palestine, is of the opinion that absolutely
no threat to peace exists in Palestine at present and that
it is not the intention of the Arab States to interfere in
Palestine by force unless some foreign state should decide
to interfere by force for the purpose of applying partition
and assisting Zionists there. The present disturbances in
Palestine are merely a local dispute arising from the United
Nations decision for the partition of Palestine. It is
the policy of the Arab States to keep this dispute within
its narrow limits.

Foreign Office please pass to U.K. Delegation New
York as my telegram No. 4 and to Jerusalem as my telegram
No. 34.

[Repeated to U.K. Delegation New York and copies
sent to Telegraph Section Colonial Office for
repetition to Jerusalem.]

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22 MAR 1948
A. M. I. I.

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1948

PALESTINE

E 3734

22 MAR 1948

Registry
Number E3734/4/31

TELEGRAM FROM

United Kingdom
No. Delegation
NEW YORK

Dated 934

Received
in Registry 19th Mar
22nd "Security Council Meetings.

Refers New York telegram No, 932 (3710/4/31)
Sir A Cadogan spoke first at afternoon session of
Security Council, to make it clear that "permanent
Members" at beginning of part two of United States
report did not include the United Kingdom.
Reports afternoon debates .

Last Paper.

3711

References.

(Print.)

(How disposed of.)

8, Malleson to
Herman but off
to her M.I.5

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M104

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Mar 22

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Next Paper.

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6/29

FROM NEW YORK TO FOREIGN OFFICE

No. 934.

19th March, 1948.

R: 6.05 a.m. 20th March, 1948.

Repeated to: Jerusalem,
Washington Saving.

E 3734

IMMEDIATE

GIANT

22 MAR 1948

Addressed Foreign Office telegram No. 934 March 19th
repeated for information to Jerusalem and Washington Saving.

My telegram No. 932.

Palestine.

At afternoon session of Security Council I spoke first to make clear that "permanent members" at beginning of Part II of United States report did not include the United Kingdom in view of the position consistently taken up by His Majesty's Government.

2. Egyptian representative (Fawzi) subscribed to statements made by Syrian delegate. He had no quarrel with United States report and appreciated attitude of French and Chinese delegations but must register disappointment that it did not recognise Zionist aggression. He disagreed with attitude of Soviet representative. Security Council must not become a rubber stamp. Issue was one of fundamental human rights, self-defence and self-determination. Arabs were wholeheartedly dedicated to the preservation of order.

3. Austin said that United States accepted Jewish Agency's interpretation of paragraph 4 of Part I of report (my telegram No. 931 paragraph 9). As regards reference to incursions "by land and sea", he read by way of justification questions and answers Nos. 1, 2, 4 and 5 in P/NY/44. Reference in Part II, to which Jewish representative took exception, to "groups and persons with the purpose of taking part in violence" did not apply to legal Jewish immigrants including those from Cyprus.

4. Turning to paragraph of Council's resolution of March 5th regarding "guidance and instructions which Council might usefully give to Palestine Commission with a view of implementing resolution of General Assembly", Austin summarised present position of Palestine Commission, Mandatory Power, Jews and Palestine Arabs. Status of Palestine on May 15th would be equivocal since

/(a) United Kingdom

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New York telegram No. 934 to Foreign Office.

- 2 -

(a) United Kingdom was responsible under Article 5 of Mandate for seeing that no Palestine territory should be ceded or in any way placed under the control of any foreign power, and

(b) United Nations did not automatically fall heir to responsibilities either of League of Nations or of Mandatory Power. Charter contained provision for voluntary placing of Mandate under trusteeship system, but no such proposal had been made by Mandatary in respect to Palestine and no action taken by United Nations which would have that result. Unilateral decision by United Kingdom to terminate Mandate could not automatically commit United Nations to responsibility for governing Palestine. On facts reported by permanent members, Palestine would be a land falling under Chapter XI of Charter, a non-self-governing territory. Limited responsibilities of United Nations set forth in Assembly plan depended upon adoption and implementation of plan as a whole.

5. Security Council was not prepared to implement plan in existing situation and was faced with clear evidence that Jews, Palestine Arabs and Mandatory Power cannot agree to implementation of plan through peaceful means. In this situation determination of Mandatory Power to leave on May 15th would result in chaos and heavy fighting. United Nations could not permit this result.

6. United States subscribed to conclusion of permanent members that Council should make clear its determination not to permit situation to threaten international peace, and should take further action by all means available to it to bring about immediate cessation of violence and restoration of peace and order in Palestine. Under Charter, Council had both inescapable responsibility and full authority to take steps, if necessary using all its powers under Articles 39, 40, 41 and 42.

7. Finally, United States Government believed that a temporary trusteeship for Palestine should be established under Trusteeship Council. This proposal was elaborated in terms of paragraphs 2 and 3 of my telegram No. 933.

8. See my two following telegrams.

Foreign Office please pass Important to Jerusalem as my telegram No. 235.

[Copy sent to Telegraph Section Colonial Office for repetition to Jerusalem]

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E 3735

31

1948

PALESTINE

20 MAR 1948

Registry Number E3735/4/31

TELEGRAM FROM

United Kingdom
No. Delegation
NEW YORK

Dated 935

Received in Registry 19th Mar
22nd "

Security Council Debates.

Refers New York telegram No, 934 (E3734/4/31)
Silver spoke on behalf of Jewish Agency following
Austin's speech and thanked him for his explanation
of "by land and sea" and reiterated that Mandatory
powers had not confirmed introduction of arms or
armed forces by sea.
Further speeches were made, discussion was then
adjourned until Wednesday Morning March 24th.

Last Paper.

7734

References.

(Print.)

(How disposed of.)

8, MacLellan. CD
Herman Bul. Off
Letter M15
M1.30
M04
Admty
AM
Mar 22

(Action completed.)

9/11/48

(Index)

3/12/48

Next Paper.

7736

(Minutes.)

22/3

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FOR NEW YORK TO FOREIGN OFFICE.

(From United Kingdom Delegation to United Nations).

O. 933.
19th March, 1948.

D. 11.55 p.m. 19th March, 1948.
R. 6.30 a.m. 20th March, 1948.

Repeated to Jerusalem and Washington Saving.

IMMEDIATE.
GIAAT.

3735

22 MAR 1948

Addressed to F.O. telegram No. 933 of March 19th, repeated for information to Jerusalem and Washington Saving.

by immediately preceding telegram.

Palestine.

Following Austin's speech, Silver, on behalf of Jewish Agency, thanked him for his explanation of "by land and sea" and reiterated that mandatory powers had not (repeat not) confirmed introduction of arms or armed forces by sea. He proposed to discuss legal arguments advanced by United States later "at great length", also "that will-o-the-wisp, an agreed solution". Meanwhile agency reactions were that suspension of implementation of Assembly plan and trusteeship proposals constituted a "shocking reversal of United States position" in view of frequent pledges by the United States representative, Secretary of State and President himself. Consequence would be increased violence in Palestine and an incalculable blow to prestige of United Nations. United States volte-face in face of Arab threats was "a fateful capitulation". Argument as regards indivisibility of the plan was incorrect, since on October 28th Herschel Johnson had stated that "element of mutuality" would not necessarily be a factor, and setting-up of one state was not conditional on setting-up of the other.

2. Arabs had always opposed any solution giving Jews their legitimate rights. Partition plan represented minimum acceptable to Jews and any further sacrifices would have to be imposed on them by force. He hoped United Nations would not follow example of mandatory power in enforcing on Jews a régime of crippling restrictions. Jews would continue to stand by Assembly resolution of November 29th and would do "everything dictated by considerations of national survival, justice and historic rights" to maintain their claims.

3. Chiang expressed agreement of Chinese delegation with United States proposals. Any consideration of the problem must begin from question whether Security Council should apply force to

overcome Arab resistance to

22 MAR 1948

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33

New York telegram No. 935 to F.O.

-2-

overcome Arab resistance to partition. Council should neither furnish nor authorise use of force, but should order a military truce, which could not be secured without simultaneous political truce. United Nations should not, by attempting to enforce a political settlement itself, cause a war.

4. Gromyko reiterated Soviet position. He could not accept that there was "general agreement" that implementation by peaceful means was impossible, and saw nothing in common between present United States proposals and results of consultation between permanent members as expressed in the agreed conclusions (a) and (b) of paragraph 1 of part II of United States report. These conclusions remained the basis on which Security Council should build concrete proposals for implementation of partition plan.

5. Discussion was adjourned until Wednesday morning March 24th.

Foreign Office please pass important to Jerusalem as my telegram No. 236.

[Copy sent to Telegraph Section C.O. for repetition to Jerusalem].

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E 3736

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PALESTINE

22 MAR 1948

Registry Number E3736/4/31

TELEGRAM FROM

Mr. Houston Boswall
No. BEIRUTSECRET

Dated 212

Received in Registry 19th Mar
22nd "Palestine, Arab League Political Committee.

Refers Beirut telegram No, 209 E3711/4/31)

Evans called on Azzam Pasha and was informed that no authoritative declaration had been issued to Universal Press. Statement in telegram under reference therefore is not entirely true. Position is that, were being pressed by United States Government on two points: (1) That Arab Higher Committee representative in Lake Success should take part in United Nations proceedings and (2) That Arab Governments should ensure that conflict in Palestine should be localised.

Last Paper.

7735

References.

(Print.)

(How disposed of.)

9, Maltzman, CV
Admiral Robt 214
Admiral 2115
2117a
2104
Admiral
Admiral
Mar 22

(Action completed.)

(Index.)

Next Paper!

3742

(Minutes)

The last paragraph, on the form an eventual settlement might take, is of special interest. No doubt similar views are current in the Arab League Political Committee, with whom Azzam had been discussing Palestinian affairs.

D. B. Balfour
24/3

Egypt - 2 days (G.M.D. 30/3)
UN (P.S.) 24/3

Two points are of particular interest:

- (1) Azzam Pasha interprets the latest American move as an attempt to secure partition by conciliation instead of by force.
- (2) He hints that, when the Zionist spirit had been broken, the Arabs might consider even the establishment of a Jewish State.

H. B. Balfour 22/3

W. B. Balfour

22.3

Mr. Balfour

23.3

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Mr. Houstoun Boswall. D. 8.09.p.n. March 19th, 1948,
No. 212.
 March 19th, 1948. R. 10.45.p.m. March 19th, 1948.

Saving.

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22 MAR 1948

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Palestine; Arab League Political Committee.

(1) That Arab Higher Committee representative in Lake Success should take part in United Nations proceedings and

(2) That Arab Governments should ensure that conflict in Palestine should be localised.

2. Azzam Pasha stated that United States Government were between devil and the deep. They had given up any idea of enforcing partition (he had received assurance that United States forces would not (repeat not) be used for this purpose) and they were now attempting to secure partition by conciliation. Arab League Political Committee had decided that the wishes of United States

/Government as regards

Beirut telegram to Foreign Office No. 212.

-2-

Government as regards (1) could be met and instructions had already been sent to Arab Higher Committee representative enabling him in close consultation with the Egyptian, Syrian and Lebanese delegates to engage in talks (he had previously only been authorised to make a statement to the Committee of Four) on the condition that discussion in no way concerned partition in any form. As regards (2) Arab representatives at Lake Success had been instructed to inform United States Government that in the view of Political Committee of Arab Committee disturbances in Palestine were purely local and that it was the policy of Arab Governments to keep them so. Arab Governments were therefore prepared to collaborate with United Nations for localisation of conflict and the best way this could be done would be by joint action for the prevention of illegal Jewish immigrants. Azzam Pasha said he hoped in this way it would be difficult [sic] for the United States Government to prevent the despatch to Palestine of an international force without provoking U.S.S.R.

3. Azzam Pasha also referred to the proposal which he said found some favour in United Nations circles that British administration in Palestine should be prolonged for a limited period (see my telegram No. 204). He personally favoured this (in fact he would have welcomed a British trusteeship for Palestine where Arab preoccupations were not with the immediate independence for that country but with the curbing of Zionist ambitions) and he thought that as a last resort the Arab Governments might also accept this.

4. Discussing the form of any eventual settlement Azzam Pasha said that the psychological moment had not yet come for the Arabs to put forward any definite proposals. This would only be possible when the Jews had given up all hope of establishing a Jewish state. Any proposals by the Arabs now would be useless even if pressure were brought on the Jews by the United Nations and by United States. At the appropriate time (when Jews might even be offered a Jewish State without danger to the Arabs) the Arabs would be prepared to accept a compromise i.e. when and if Zionist spirit had been well and thoroughly broken.

Foreign Office please pass to United Kingdom Delegation New York as my telegram 5.

[Repeated to United Kingdom Delegation New York.]

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PALESTINE

22 MAR 1948

Registry Number E3742/4/31

TELEGRAM FROM
United Kingdom
No. Delegation
NEW YORKDated 105 Saving
Received in Registry 19th Mar
22nd "Answers to questions put to Palestine Commission
by Four Permanent Members.Refers New York telegram No, 855 dated March 11th
(3359/4/31).Further to brief indications given in New York
telegram No, 882 transmits full text of the answers
submitted by the Palestine Commission.

Last Paper.

7736

References.

(Print.)

(How disposed of.)

8, Walsman CC
Herman Lab off
Johor, M-15
M.T. 34
M04
Admty
9 M
Mar 23(Action
completed.)

(Index.)

Next Paper.

3773

(Minutes.)

Contrary to expectations aroused by Jewish press
propaganda, this document does not utter complaints
of British obstruction, but merely states calmly and
objectively what the position is, with particular
relation to the Mandatory power's attitude.

D. Balfour

In dealing with Question 6, the Commission
presumably felt unable to mention the assurance
communicated to them in confidence by Sir A.
Ladagen, that if they came to London H.M.C. would
be prepared to examine with them the possibility
of their arrival in Palestine earlier than the 1st May.

H. Bealey 24/3

H. 313

M. 5

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Reference:-

FO 371 / 68539

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WORLD ORGANISATION
DISTRIBUTION

(From United Kingdom Delegation to United Nations)

E. 3742

R. 20th March, 1948.

22 MAR 1948

Addressed to Foreign Office telegram No. 105 Saving
of 19th March repeated for information to H.C. Jerusalem,
Washington Saving.

Questions by Four Permanent Members of the Security Council to the Palestine Commission.

[illegible]

FO 371	68539
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Answer to Question 1:

As pointed out in its two reports to the Security Council

(a) the Jews of Palestine generally accept the Plan of Partition

(b) the Arabs of Palestine generally oppose it and the Arab Higher Committee has refused to have anything to do with the Commission; and

(c) the Mandatary Power declines any action which might be interpreted as involving implementation of the Plan.

For these reasons the Commission reported to the Security Council that it could not discharge its

/responsibilities on the



New York telegram No. 1155, 11/11/47, to Foreign Office.

I.

responsibilities on the termination of the Mandate without the assistance of an adequate non-Palestinian armed force for the preservation of law and order.

Answer to Question 1.

By the terms of the resolution of the General Assembly on the future Government of Palestine, the Commission has been charged exclusively with responsibility, under the guidance of the Security Council, for putting into effect the recommendations of the General Assembly as set forth in the Plan of Partition with Economic Union. The Commission has operated strictly within these terms of reference, and is not, therefore, in a position to suggest possible modifications in either the substance or the procedures of the partition plan which might offer a basis for agreement among the people of Palestine.

Answer to Question 2.

Although the Commission has had no official communication from Arabs on the matter, the Commission is well aware that the basis of Arab disagreement is to be found in their objection to the establishment of a Jewish State in Palestine and to the continuation of Jewish immigration there.

Answer to Question 3.

The Palestine Commission does not consider it possible to implement the Plan by peaceful means either as a whole or in substantial part so long as the existing vigorous Arab resistance to partition continues.

Answer to Question 4.

The Commission has held further discussions with the Mandatory Power regarding the gradual relinquishment of the Mandate, and the results are the same as stated in the First Monthly Report, namely, that the Mandatory Power firmly intends to retain undivided control in Palestine until the date of the termination of the Mandate (i.e. 15th May, 1948).

Answer to Question 5.

The Commission has held further discussions with the Mandatory Power regarding the mode of arrival of the Commission in Palestine, and has received the following reply to a specific question:

"His Majesty's Government in the United Kingdom would not regard favourably any proposal by the Commission to proceed to Palestine earlier than two weeks before the date of the termination of the Mandate".

Answer to Question 7.

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New York telegram No. 105 Saving to Foreign Office.

3.

Answer to Question 7.

The Palestine Commission has given consideration to and has taken some preliminary steps regarding the establishment by 1st April 1948 of Provisional Councils of Government in the proposed Jewish and Arab States. With regard to the proposed Jewish State, it has sent communications of inquiry with regard to the consultations with "democratic parties and other public organisations" envisaged in paragraph 4, Section B, Part 1 of the Plan. It has also discussed the matter with the Mandatory Power. On this subject the Commission has reached the following conclusions and will communicate these conclusions to the Security Council in its second monthly report:

a. That the attitude of the Arab Higher Committee and Arab resistance in Palestine preclude any possibility of selecting a Provisional Council of Government for the proposed Arab State by 1st April.

b. That while the Commission can take and has in fact taken some preliminary steps toward the selection of the Provisional Council of Government for the proposed Jewish State, that Provisional Council will not be able to "carry out its functions," in the sense of the Plan, prior to the termination of the Mandate.

c. The position of the Mandatory Power as indicated in the reply to a question of the Commission set forth below, precludes any possibility of fulfilling by 1st April Part I, B, 4 of the Plan as regards either the Arab or the Jewish State.

The Commission had inquired.

"In what manner is the Mandatory Power, prior to the termination of the Mandate, to facilitate the work of the Commission respecting measures it must take to establish the Provisional Councils of Government?"

The Mandatory Power replied as follows:

"Subject to its overriding responsibility for the maintenance of law and order, the Mandatory Power would not impede any preliminary steps taken by the Commission with this object in view although such Councils could not exercise any authority prior to the date of the termination of the Mandate".

Answer to Question 8.

No final agreements have yet been reached on economic matters in negotiations between the Commission and the

/Mandatory Power. Nevertheless

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4.

Mandatory Power. Nevertheless progress has been made towards agreement in some respects.

A serious and urgent matter now being negotiated with the Mandatory Power concerns the import of essential food products to Palestine after 15th May. The Commission has had representatives in London studying this problem with British officials and has now made specific proposals for the United Kingdom to import bread cereals and sugar under existing machinery to supply essential needs at least until 30th June. In view of the fact that a serious shortage will arise in Palestine after 15th May if supplies of bread cereals are not obtained immediately, the Mandatory Power has been asked to give a reply within a few days.

Preliminary discussions have begun with the Mandatory Power regarding the liquidation of assets.

The Mandatory Power excluded Palestine from the sterling area as of 22nd February and blocked Palestinian sterling balances held in London. This action was taken without the prior knowledge of the Commission. The consequences of this action are still under consideration by the Commission and will be the subject of direct negotiations with the Government of the United Kingdom. The Commission has agreed to appoint immediately an observer to the Palestine Currency Board, to serve in that capacity until 15th May.

No progress has yet been made regarding the problems of communications services, which will be ultimately the concern of the Economic Union, and the maintenance of fiscal continuity. To a considerable extent these problems call for close collaboration with local administrations.

Answer to Question 9.

The administration of the City of Jerusalem by the United Nations is possible if the plan of partition with economic union is generally accepted by the Arab and Jewish communities of Palestine and peacefully implemented:

(a) Jerusalem, as a City with a mixed population, cannot be in peace if there is no peace between the two main communities.

(b) The City being an enclave in Arab territory, depends for its essential supplies and its communications with the outside world on the good-will of its neighbours. Its water supply, its electricity supply, its food supply, depend on the good-will both of the proposed Arab and Jewish States.

(c) The economy and finances of the City depend on the successful application of the plan of Economic Union.

/The City cannot be

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New York telegram No. 150 Saving to Foreign Office

5.

The City cannot be economically viable without Economic Union.

Answer to Question 10.

It is not possible to give an unequivocal answer to this question. Even assuming a peaceful implementation of the Plan as formulated by the General Assembly, the Palestine Commission, to which authority will be handed over by the Mandatory Power, will require, prior to the termination of the Mandate, a working fund in order to undertake indispensable commitments. This fund could be acquired as a loan against future Palestinian revenues of the Economic Union. Moreover, the proposed arrangements for the City of Jerusalem, as envisaged in the Draft Statute formulated by the Trusteeship Council, will involve a continuing charge against the budget of the United Nations.

The fact that the transfer of administrative functions cannot be undertaken gradually, and begun well before the relinquishment of authority by the Mandatory Power, increases the amount of the working fund which would be required from outside sources during the transitional period. Such a working fund should be clearly distinguished from the funds voted by the Assembly for the work of the Commission. The amount voted by the Assembly is for the expenses of the Commission and not for the administration of Palestine.

As regards administrative machinery, the gap created by the departure of British staff in key posts and the probable refusal of Arab personnel in minor posts to serve under the Commission will create great difficulties. New Personnel will have to be provided and their recruitment during the interim period, especially in the joint services, would be a responsibility of the Commission. The cost of maintenance of such personnel will be a charge on Palestine revenues.

[Ends].

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317 1948	<div style="font-size: 48pt; font-weight: bold; margin: 0;">E</div> <div style="margin-top: 10px;">PALESTINE</div>	<div style="font-size: 24pt; font-weight: bold; margin: 0;">43</div> <div style="margin-top: 10px;">E 3773</div> <div style="margin-top: 10px;">23 MAR 1948</div>
Registry Number { E3773/4/31 FROM Colonial Office No. Comm'd Dated 23rd March Received in Registry {	<p style="text-align: center;">Political reactions to United States Trusteeship Proposal.</p> <hr/> <p>Palestine telegram No, 719 dated 20th March, Refers Palestine telegram No, 637 (E3632/4/31) New transmits some preliminary general observations on the political reaction to the United States recent proposal for a Trusteeship for Palestine.</p>	
Last Paper. <div style="margin-top: 10px;">5742</div>	<div style="text-align: right;">(Minutes.)</div> <div style="margin-top: 20px; text-align: right;"> <i>D. Balfour 23/3</i> </div> <p>Action has already been taken on paragraph 5.</p> <p>He should presumably consider the proposal in paragraph 3 in the unlikely event of agreement being reached on an interim trusteeship. But I doubt whether there would be many volunteers.</p> <div style="text-align: right; margin-top: 20px;"> <i>H. B. Bealey 29/3</i> <i>H. B. S.</i> 30.3 </div> <div style="margin-top: 20px; text-align: right;"> <i>I. P. P. Palestine tel to G.O. 732 22/3</i> <i>D. Balfour 1/4</i> </div> <p style="margin-top: 20px;">An important telegram especially paragraph 3.</p> <div style="text-align: right; margin-top: 20px;"> <i>H. B. Bealey 7/4</i> <i>H. B. S.</i> 7.4 </div>	
References. <div style="text-align: center;">(Print.)</div> <div style="text-align: center; margin-top: 20px;">(How disposed of.)</div>	<div style="display: flex; justify-content: space-between;"> <div style="width: 45%;"> <div style="text-align: center;">(Action completed.)</div> <div style="margin-top: 10px;"> <i>✓ 10/4/21/3</i> </div> </div> <div style="width: 45%;"> <div style="text-align: center;">(Index.)</div> <div style="margin-top: 10px;"> <i>11/2/48</i> </div> </div> </div>	
Next Paper. <div style="margin-top: 20px;">5778</div>	<div style="text-align: center;"> <div style="font-size: 10pt;">26513 F.O.P.</div> </div>	

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INWARD TELEGRAM.

TO THE SECRETARY OF STATE FOR THE COLONIES.

Cypher (O.T.P.)

23 MAR 1948

FROM PALESTINE (General Sir A. Cunningham)

D. 20th March, 1948.
R. 20th " " 07.00 hrs.

IMMEDIATE

No. 729 Top Secret and Personal.

Addressed S. of S.
Repeated URDEL No. 770 (Washington please pass).

I have already sent you some comments on the possible security reactions to the latest U.S. proposal for interim trusteeship in Palestine. I send herewith some preliminary general observations on the political side. It was of course something of this sort I had in mind when I sent you my telegram No. 637.

2. I assume that even if asked to stay U.N. will adhere to its decision to give up the mandate on the 15th May. Under this condition there would not be time before we left to conclude trusteeship agreement as contemplated in Charter, particularly as this would involve consultation with interested states. It would appear that only alternative would be some sort of special trusteeship similar to that of Jerusalem Statute recently completed. In order to save time I suggest that it might be found possible to adopt in different phraseology non-controversial articles of mandate. I had at first thought that the mandate might be prolonged with suitable modifications. I consider however that this would have undesirable repercussions among Arabs, even if it was legally possible. In view of the speed with which the document has to be produced I would suggest that it should be as brief as possible. Some arrangement would have to be made to start drafting at the earliest possible moment after the Security Council have taken decision.

3. If a trusteeship administration is set up, either by a single power or by the Commission, whose task is merely interim administration of the country and not implementation of or search for political solution, clearly our attitude towards it cannot be the same as to the present Palestine Commission. In fact we would feel it our duty to the U.N. and to Palestine to give them all assistance which it is in our power to give. I assume that under no circumstances can we agree to have troops here, but I feel that it would be difficult to refuse in toto request to leave some British personnel. In this request is made I suggest that it would be possible to agree that officers willing to do so should remain for limited period in certain key posts. I am clear that it should be only shortest possible time, and only long enough to enable administrative authority to find their own feet. I should place absolute limit on two or three months and even that only if security conditions allow. I should not include police in this proposal. Very little of present situation have resulted in a lack of confidence in them.

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20 JAN 1948

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on both sides through no fault of their own, and it is plain that it would be most unfair to ask them to continue as formed body. I do not of course preclude volunteers for whatever police force is formed by the successor authority.

4. Whenever (whatever intended) the nature of the body the U.N. sends to govern the country (during omitted) interim period I believe the measure of its success will be the degree to which it will be able to keep itself truly neutral and not committed to one solution or another. No doubt in its selection this factor will be borne in mind.

5. Jewish reactions here have not yet crystallised but already we are accused of having brought about the present situation through machination having object of continuation of our rule of Palestine. If therefore it is still the intention not to alter our programme, from the security angle here the earlier announcement can be made that this new development will have no effect on it, the better.

Distribution to:-

R.243
Secretary of State
Sir T. Lloyd
Mr. Boes-Williams
Sir S. Osine
Sir C. Fairclough
Mr. Holding
Mr. Martin
Mr. Trafford Smith
Mr. Church
Mr. Matheson
Mr. Higgins
Mr. Calverley
Mr. H. Lee
Mr. Dale
Foreign Office
War Office (M.O.4.)

- Mr. H. Bealey.
- Lt. Col. M.M. Charteris.

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INWARD TELEGRAM.

TO THE SECRETARY OF STATE FOR THE COLONIES.

Cypher (O.T.P.)

378 4 31

FROM PALESTINE (Gen. Sir A. Cunningham)

D. 22nd March, 1948.

R. 22nd " " 19.15 hrs.

IMMEDIATE

No. 732 Top Secret

Addressed to the S. of S.
Repeated to UKDEL No. 781 (Washington please pass)

Further to my telegram No. 719 repeated to UKDEL
No. 770.

The American plan for interim Government would have no chance of success unless a truce was first negotiated between contending parties in Palestine. I do not believe this will be possible unless matter is taken in hand at the earliest possible moment. There is strong pressure amongst one section of the Jews to intensify their attacks on Arabs, and strangely enough Arab attacks have if anything been rather heavier over the last two or three days. Whatever the medium may be through which it is proposed to negotiate a truce, in my view the venue must be in the Middle East itself. Neither Arabs nor Jews are in the mood to listen to long range exhortation from New York. I therefore suggest that it would be necessary to form some type of peace mission and that it should be sent to the Middle East at the earliest possible time.

2. First report on Jewish reaction shows that Ben Gurion and Mapai were pressing for immediate setting up of a Jewish Government. I therefore had conveyed to Jewish Agency yesterday a verbal message that they should consider very carefully the effect of any precipitate action of this kind. The message particularly hinted at the economic sanctions it would be possible to apply. For your information a plan for applying such sanctions is being worked out in event of Agency being so foolish as to try and usurp power. The Jews are entirely dependent on a continuous supply of oil. I myself consider that it is unlikely that they will pursue such a course.

3. Although there is no doubt that the American plan, if adopted and successful, has for us certain short term advantages, I must confess to various misgivings for the future. It may be that the only way now to arrive at a final solution of the Palestine problem is for Arabs and Jews to fight it out in Palestine, and if that is the case the present proposals are only putting off the evil day. The position of U.N.O. will become the same as ours as Mandator over the past 25 years. This would seem disastrous both for U.N.O. and Palestine.

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RECEIVED IN C.B.

25 MAR 1948

SENT TO DEPT.

One of the major advantages of the American plan is that it would make it easier to deal with Jerusalem as a separate problem and no longer as part of partition plan. Whatever may come out of the next few weeks regarding Palestine as a whole, it is to be hoped that at the very least a plan for peace and stability in Jerusalem may emerge.

Distributed to:-

R. 243
Secretary of State
Sir T. Lloyd
Mr. Rees-Williams
Sir S. Caine
Sir C. Jeffries
Mr. Holding
Mr. Martin
Mr. Trafford Smith
Mr. Gutch
Mr. Mathieson
Mr. Righam
Mr. Galsworthy
Mr. Holmer
Mr. Dale
Foreign Office
War Office (M.O.A.)

- Mr. H. Bealey
- Lt. Col. R.M. Chatterton

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23 MAR 1948

Registry Number E3781/4/31

TELEGRAM FROM

Mr. Houston

No Boswall

DETROIT

Dated 221

Received
in Registry

Palestine, Arab League Political Committee.

Rfee s Beirut telegram No 212 (3736/4/31) of 19th Mar, Gives extracts from Communiqué read by Azzam Pasha to press correspondents March 21st.

"Instructions were issued to the arab delegate at United Nations to announce to the world that the arab while determined to resist partition by all available means, were nevertheless prepared to co-operate in every way to help Palestine to attain its full independence as a unitary and democratic state to re-establish peace and security."

Test Paper.

1115

References

The last sentence includes some very unrealistic demands: the United Nations are to report promptly and dissolve the Hajjalah!

23/

H73. 2

8 Mathewson, 61
Belman, 64 1/2
Lester, 65
H. H. 66
H. H. 67
H. H. 68
H. H. 69
H. H. 70
H. H. 71
H. H. 72
H. H. 73

3/12/48

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En Clair

POLITICAL DISTRIBUTION
FROM BEIRUT TO FOREIGN OFFICE

23 MAR 1948

Mr. Houston Boswall D.6.0 p.m. 22nd March, 1948.
No.221 R.7.50 p.m. 22nd March, 1948.

22nd March, 1948.

Repeated to U.K. Delegation New York

Addressed to Foreign Office telegram No.221 of 22nd March.
Repeated to United Kingdom Delegation New York.

My telegram No.212.

Arab League Political Committee.

Following are extracts from Communiqué read
by A zam Pasha to press correspondents on March 21st.

"Instructions were issued to the Arab Delegate at United Nations to announce to the world that the Arabs, while determined to resist partition by all available means, were nevertheless prepared to co-operate in every way to help Palestine to attain its full independence as a unitary and democratic state to re-establish peace and security. The Arab States consider that the Arabs of Palestine are in a state of legitimate defence. If therefore the United Nations were willing to deport the terrorists from Palestine, to dissolve the forces of Hagana and to prohibit immigration, which was supplying the latter with reinforcements, the Arabs would be willing to do their utmost to establish peace in Palestine in a democratic manner.

Full text follows by bag.

Please pass to United Kingdom Delegation as my telegram No.7.

[Repeated to United Kingdom Delegation New York]

B B B

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E

E. 3540

48

25 MAR 1948

Registry
Number E5840/4/31

FROM

G.E.B. Shannon

No.

Commonwealth

Relations Office

F, 2781/115

Dated

to Mr. Furlong

Received

17th March

in Registry

25th "

Palestine Policy.

Encloses copy of Australian Government's telegram No 65 of 11th March and suggested reply to same. As we have stated our views three times in the last two months we should confine reply to a re-statement of intention not to get involved in implementation and explain that A.M.G. mixed policy being what it is they do not feel able to encourage others to do what they are not themselves prepared to do.

Last Paper.

3781

(Minutes.)

References.

8.44. 40p. Minute
- 40. Minute, 11. 4. 22/3.

D. Balfour

28/3

H.B. 25/3

(Print.)

(How disposed of.)

(Action
completed.)py
✓ 6/130/3

(Index)

3/12/48

Next Paper.

37/9

E26513 F.O.P.

PUBLIC RECORD OFFICE

Reference:-

FO

371

68539

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49
E

DOCTOR EVATT AND PALESTINE

On the attached copy of telegram No.65 from the Australian Government to the C.R.O., the Secretary of State has minuted to the effect that a full reply should be sent to Doctor Evatt about Palestine.

Doctor Evatt's telegram is largely a repetition of his earlier telegram on the same subject to which we replied in C.R.O. telegram to the Australian Government No. 75. (Flag A within.)

Since Doctor Evatt's second telegram was received, the Palestine situation has been radically altered by the reversal of American policy, and the controversy in these telegrams is now out of date.

In these circumstances the secretary of State may feel that it is unnecessary to continue the controversy.

H. Beeley

H. Beeley.

22nd March, 1948.

*I agree NO
need to Protocol it*

Mr. Beeley has so informed C.R.O.

No action required

LSF 23/3

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50

Commonwealth Relations Office,

Bowring Street.

17th March, 1948.

3840

F.2781/117.

Secret

Dear Furlonge,

25 MAR 1948

PALESTINE.

With reference to our telephone conversation a few days ago, I enclose, for consideration in the Foreign Office, a suggested draft reply to the Australian Government's telegram No. 63 of 11th March.

1. There is a good deal which might be said in reply to the remarks in the Australian telegram, but we have already stated our views to the Australian Government three times in the last two months, over and above the general telegrams to all the Dominions, and we should prefer to bring the correspondence to a close. We therefore think that the reply should be confined to a re-statement of our intention not to get involved in implementation and an explanation that, our fixed policy being what it is, we do not feel able to encourage others to do what we are not prepared to do ourselves.

3. I am sending a copy of this letter and the draft to Martin (Colonial Office)

and

G.W. FURLONGE, ESQ.

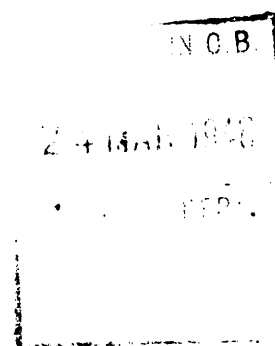
FOREIGN OFFICE.

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and should be glad if he could inform me of his comments or concurrence.

*Yours sincerely,
G.E.B. Shannon*

(G.E.B. Shannon)



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[Subject to Foreign Office
Colonial Office
concurrence.]

TELEGRAM
(TYPEX)

EXTERNAL CANBEPRA

NO. SECRET.

Your telegram 11th March No.65.
Paragraph 3.

Palestine.

Our attitude on question of implementation has always been that, while we are ready to assume responsibility for giving effect to any plan mutually agreed by Arabs and Jews, and would not (repeat not) obstruct Assembly's plan, we are determined to take no (repeat no) active part in implementation of any solution not (repeat not) acceptable to both parties.

2. For 25 years we have sought to discharge our obligations under the mandate to facilitate the growth of the Jewish National Home and to protect the interests of the Arab population. Despite our consistent endeavours and despite the efforts made by the Foreign Secretary in 1945 and subsequently by the Anglo-American Commission of Enquiry, it proved impossible, through no fault of

our

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our own, to draw up a settlement acceptable to both Jews and Arabs. We accordingly referred the question to Assembly. After our long association with administration of Palestine, our position is necessarily different from that of other members of U.N. If we were to become involved in any settlement unacceptable to both sides, we should only be accused by one side or the other of partiality, without ensuring advantage of a lasting settlement.

3. No doubt we shall in any case not (repeat not) escape criticism, but we feel sure that we shall not be misunderstood in saying that we do not feel able to take any part in securing implementation by others, when we are not (repeat not) prepared to take part in implementation ourselves.

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This is an unparaphrased version of a Secret cypher (typex) message and the text must first be paraphrased if it is essential to communicate it to persons outside British and United States Government Services.

Inward Telegram to Commonwealth Relations Office

ALLOTTED TO F.A. & U.N. DEPT.

CYPHER (TYPEX)

FROM: AUSTRALIA (GOVT.)

D. Canberra 11th Mar., 1948. 5.50 p.m.
R. " " 11th " " 12.0 p.m.

No. 65

Palestine.

Your telegram of 5th March No. 75.

We are glad to receive the assurance that the United Kingdom has endeavoured to impress upon the Arabs their responsibility towards the Middle East as a whole, and towards Palestine in particular. We regret, however, that the United Kingdom does not see its way clear to adopt a similar attitude in treaty negotiations with the Egyptian and other Governments. For our part we regard our commitments to the United Nations as the overriding factor in our foreign policy and from the point of view of British Commonwealth interests in the Middle East no greater mistake could be made than prejudicing in any way successful fulfilment of the United Nations decision in respect of Palestine.

2. It would be a welcome example of the sincerity of the Western Powers stated respect for the United Nations if the United Kingdom were able to persuade the Arab States that they should not obstruct the implementation of the General Assembly recommendations.

3. For these reasons, while we are aware that the United Kingdom did not support the Assembly's recommendation for the partition of Palestine, we hope the United Kingdom will not fail to assist in securing the implementation of the decision of the majority of members of the United Nations.

Copy to: -/

C.L.D.
S. Dept.
52
Better correct this mischievous
of Arabs in a full
reply about
Palestine. I do not know what
he means about Egypt
D.I.

Better correct this mischievous
the mischievous of
Arabs in a full
reply about
Palestine. I do not know what
he means about Egypt
D.I.

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C.R.O. (A)
New York
Foreign Office

Mr. D.W.Hunt
Mr. B. Cockram
P.S. to Secretary of State
Sir Noel Charles
Mr. H. Beeley
Mr. G.W.Furlonge
Mr. G.I. McDermott
Mr. J.L.Martin
Mr. R.R.Powell

Colonial Office
M/Defence

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2016.10.10.1992

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E 3879

53

25 MAR 1948

Registry
Number

E3879/4/31

TELEGRAM FROM

No. Sir Alec Kirkbride

Dated

AMMAN+
179Received
in Registry23rd March
25th "Reactions in Amman to United States Policy.

The first reactions to the announcement the the United States would no longer support the Partition plan were triumphant but reflection brought the fact home that it settled little of the problems of the future of Palestine. It is anticipated that the Jews will form a state of the areas in which they predominate and that hostilities will continue but with the difference that the Jews will be opposing a United Nations trusteeship to which the Arabs have agreed in principle.

Last Paper.

3840

References.

(Print.)

(How disposed of.)

8 Mr. Alkhamis
Herman
Herman, 114-1
M. P. W.
M. P.
Gidday
H. P.

Mar 30

(Action
completed.)t.p.
3/1/48

3/12/48

Next Paper.

3802

(Minutes)

Palestine Jewish?

D. Ballin
5/

H. Beeley 25/3

B. N. 3

29.3

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Cypher/OIP

POLITICAL DISTRIBUTION

25 MAR 1948

FROM AMMAN TO FOREIGN OFFICE.

Sir A. Kirkbride.
No. 179.

L. 11.16 a.m. 23rd March, 1948.

23rd March, 1948.

R. 2.54 p.m. 23rd March, 1948.

Repeated Saving to Bagdad, Beirut, Cairo, Damascus, Jedda,
B.M.E.C. and Jerusalem.

CONFIDENTIAL.

Addressed to P.O. telegram No. 179 of March 23rd,
repeated for information saving Bagdad, Beirut, Cairo,
Damascus, Jedda, British Middle East Office and Jerusalem.

Palestine.

The first reactions here to the announcement that the United States would no longer support scheme to partition Palestine were triumphant but a little reflection brought home the fact that this decision had settled little of the problems of the future of Palestine.

2. It was suggested frequently that Great Britain might agree to postpone relinquishment of the mandate. This is not as complimentary to us as it sounds. It arises from realization that the Jews are not likely to submit to the loss of their State and that there must be some outside authority to prevent a Jewish coup d'etat and to stop illegal immigration. Announcement that Arabs would accept trusteeship comes from the same considerations. To the Arabs trusteeship means that Jews will not be allowed to form their State or to import more than a limited number of immigrants. It will give the Arabs time to strengthen their preparations for a further trial of strength as the present effort is thought to have gone badly.

3. It is anticipated that on or before May 15th the Jews will form a State of the areas of Palestine in which they predominate and that hostilities between Jews and Arabs will continue but with the difference that the Jews will be opposing a United Nations trusteeship to which the Arabs have agreed in principle.

[Copy sent to M.E. Secretariat].

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1948

E 3882

25 MAR 1948

Registry
Number E5882/4/31

TELEGRAM FROM

United Kingdom
No. Delegation

Dated NEW YORK

Received 972

in Registry 24th March
25th "Security Council Meetings.

Refers New York telegram No, 935 dated March 19th (E3735/4/31). Security Council held an inconclusive meeting morning March 24th and adjourned discussion till afternoon of March 30th.

Paris, (Syria) read a letter from christian communities in palestine expressing indignation at situation resulting from Partition plan and urging that it be revoked.

Gives texts of other speeches.

Last Paper.

3879

References.

(Print.)

(How disposed of.)

Matheson, P.C.
Herman, Lab Off
Peters. M.I. 5
M.I. 3a
M.I. 4
Adams
Q.M.
Mar. 25

(Action
completed.)

(Date)

Next Paper.

3897

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En Clair

WORLD ORGANISATION DISTRIBUTION

FROM NEW YORK TO FOREIGN OFFICE

(From United Kingdom Delegation to United Nations)

No. 972.

D. 9.0. p.m. 24th March 1948.

24th March 1948.

R. 3.45. a.m. 25th March 1948.

Repeated to Jerusalem,
Washington, Saving.

IMMEDIATE

GIANT

25 MAR 1948

Addressed Foreign Office telegram No. 972 of 24th
March repeated for information to Jerusalem and saving
to Washington.

My telegram No. 935; Palestine.

Security Council held an inconclusive meeting this
morning and adjourned discussion till afternoon of March
30th.

2. Faris (Syria) read a letter from Christian
communities in Palestine expressing indignation at
situation resulting from partition plan and urging that
it be revoked.

3. McNaughton (Canada) in a somewhat gloomy review
of past developments said that Assembly plan had been
based on a number of assumptions which had proved to be
false viz

(A) That both communities in Palestine would cooperate
sufficiently;

(B) That Mandatory Power would assist in implement-
ation and at least supervise transitional arrangements;

(C) That plan would not be opposed by any members
of United Nations, including those who had voted against;

(D) That transfer of authority would be rapid and
progressive, role of United Nations Commission being
simply to assist and superintend;

(E) That agreement would be reached in Security
Council as to any necessary implementation measures.

/4. In present situation

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New York telegram No. 972 to Foreign Office

-2-

4. In present situation, and failing some alternative authority in Palestine, civil war would break out and peace of whole Middle East would be endangered. New United States plan might be opposed by both sides on ground that it imposed further tutelage and postponed independence. It would, however, provide a cooling off period during which moderates would have opportunity to work out a settlement by direct negotiation. Canadian Delegation was prepared to consider an alternative plan to partition, but feared serious difficulties in absence of any assurance of cooperation from countries most directly concerned. Unless and until those countries showed signs of intention to cooperate, his Delegation could not declare itself in favour of any course.

5. Parodi (France) recalled his Government's position in favour of conciliation and said that to this extent he welcomed United States proposal. Trusteeship, however, raised serious problems, e.g. as to meaning of "States directly concerned". Moreover, it would be hard to find a State or States to take on trusteeship, and United Nations had no experience of administering trust territories. United States plan should not be adopted unless there was some clear indication of the outcome. Security Council debates had not increased its prestige, and authority of Assembly might likewise be diminished if a Special Assembly were decided on without a clear policy and unless a majority for trusteeship could be foreseen.

6. In any event conciliatory aspects of United States' plan should be stressed. Any trusteeship agreement should set up Jewish and Arab cantons, possibly with provisional agreement as to immigration and without prejudice to ultimate solution, whether partition or a unitary State. He shared difficulty of Canadian representative in making up his mind in present circumstances and suggested a closed meeting at which, after questioning United States' representative on details of his proposal, Council should consider whether to take the responsibility of asking for a special Assembly.

7. Chamoun (Lebanon) said that Council could not give a mandate to the Assembly, which would be free to adopt or reject trusteeship or adhere to partition plan as it wished. Detailed study of trusteeship proposals

/at this stage was, therefore,

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New York telegram No. 972 to Foreign Office

-3-

at this stage was, therefore, premature. He added

(A) That Arab States were ready to ask Palestine Arabs to cease hostilities if recommendation for a special Assembly were adopted by the Council, provided there was no Zionist provocation either by Jewish population in Palestine or Jewish Organisations;

(B) If a special Assembly were convoked, Lebanese delegation would be prepared to discuss in good will any proposal which did not delay democratic independence of whole of Palestine.

8. Lopez (Colombia) unsuccessfully renewed his suggestion (my telegram 784 paragraph 6) that there should be an adjournment to permit permanent members to consult among themselves and with representatives of Jews and Arabs. He expressed ironic satisfaction at assurance of President (Tsiang China) that such consultations were unlikely to produce any results.

9. Silver (Jewish Agency) said that he would not discuss United States' proposal as it had not (repeat not) been formally submitted. He then read out statement dated March 1948, omitted by Jewish Agency and Vaad Leumi (text of which is no doubt available to you) as to proclamation of a Jewish State immediately after May 15th.

10. Fawzi (Egypt) said that the Arabs would not swallow partition on any terms. He would not now comment on United States' plan, but any proposal involving suspension of partition plan was in the right direction.

11. See my immediately following telegram.

Please repeat to Jerusalem important as my telegram No. 240.

[Copies sent to Colonial Office for repetition to Jerusalem.]

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1948

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3522

10 MAR 1948

Registry Number E3922/4/31

TELEGRAM FROM
U.K.Del., New York
No. 990

Dated 27.5.48

Received in Registry 29.5.48

Police Force for Jerusalem

Telegram No.244 to Jerusalem.

Refers to Jerusalem telegram to C.O. No.673
(E3073/4/31). For Gurney from Fletcher-Cooke.

Commission is unable to estimate strength of
police force necessary in Jerusalem after 15th May.

Last Paper.

E 3927

(Mentioned)

DB.
30/5

References.

(P.S.A.)

(How disposed of)

Action completed

28/6/50

3/12/48

Next paper.

E 3926

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29 MAR 1948

CYPHER/OTP

DEPARTMENTAL DISTRIBUTION

FROM NEW YORK TO FOREIGN OFFICE

(From United Kingdom Delegation to the United Nations)

No. 990.

D: 2.00 p.m. 27th March, 1948.

27th March, 1948.

R: 8.20 p.m. 27th March, 1948.

IMPORTANT

SECRET

Addressed Jerusalem telegram No. 244 March 27th
repeated for information Important to Foreign Office (for
Colonial Office) and Saving to Washington.

Your telegram to Colonial Office No. 673 repeated here as No. 730. Paragraph 4. Police force for Jerusalem.

Following for Gurney from Fletcher-Cooke.

[Begins]

Commission is at present unable (repeat unable) to estimate total strength of police force which it will be necessary to have in Jerusalem after 15th May. [Ends]

Foreign Office please pass Important to Jerusalem.

[Copies sent to Colonial Office, and to Telegraph Section
Colonial for repetition to Jerusalem]

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E 3926

61

MAR 1948

1948

Registry Number E3926/4/31

FROM Colonial Office
commd.

No. 713

Dated 20.3.48

Received in Registry 29.3.48

New Proposal for U.N. Trusteeship for Palestine
Transmits copy of telegram No. 713 of 20th
March from Jerusalem to Colonial Office regarding
the new proposal for trusteeship of Palestine.

Last Paper.

E 3922

References.

(Print.)

(How disposed of.)

(Minutes.)

A very interesting analysis. It does not look as if there is much hope of interim trusteeship being accepted. See especially passage marked in para 4 and compare para 5. It is expected that a Zionist meeting on April 4th at Tel Aviv will produce a Decision for or against the proclamation of an independent Jewish state. Even if only the principle is proclaimed and its application left till some fixed or unspecified date in the future, the Arab Liberation Army may react by starting a large-scale civil war well before May 15th.

D. Balaban
1/3

H.B. 4/4

(Action completed.)

G.L. 10/7/4

(Index.)

25/12/4

Next Paper.

E 3939

F26513 F.O.P.

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INWARD TELEGRAM.

TO THE SECRETARY OF STATE FOR THE COLONIES.

16 62
Enter soon
please

This document must be paraphrased if the communication of its contents to any person outside Government Service is authorized.

Cypher

E 3026

FROM PALESTINE (Gen. Sir A. Gurney)

29 MAR 1948

D. 20th March, 1948.
R. 20th " " 21.30 hrs.

No. 713 Top Secret

Addressed to S. of W.
Repeated to UKDEL, No. 705 (Washington please pass).
" " B.M.E.O., No. 33.

I am telegraphing separately some comments on the broader aspects of the new proposal for U.N. Trusteeship for Palestine but you (I may omitted) like to have at once the following observations on possible Arab and Jewish reactions in Palestine.

The proposals for an interim trusteeship during re-examination of the problem would be acceptable to Arabs provided that the following stipulations on which they are likely to insist are met:-

(a) that trusteeship should be either by U.N. itself or by a group of states not predominantly "pro-Jewish". If the latter, at least one state to be a state of the Arab League.

(b) that the period of interim trusteeship shall not operate to strengthen the Jewish military position at the expense of the Arabs. (It would encourage Arab acceptance were the U.N. to announce that it would maintain the arms embargo for the period of trusteeship).

(c) that Jewish immigration will not be increased. (The Arabs would require considerable persuasion to accept all masses of Cyprus camps in spite of the cost of keeping them there).

(d) that guarantees will be given that illegal immigrants will be prevented from entering Palestine.

2. The Arab Higher Committee, which has never accepted the Mandate or Trusteeship principles, would in the past have rejected any trusteeship proposal on principle. In present circumstances, as a condition for rejection, trusteeship explicitly divorced from any political ambition might be in fact, though perhaps not formally, accepted by the Committee, who would regard Israel as free to continue its present, for a definite time, course. Although the interests of the Arabs in the long run is to be considered.

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RECEIVED IN O.B.
29 MAR 1949
SENT TO D.F.T.
29. 3.48

unlikely that A.H.C. could mobilize substantial physical resistance if the proposal were accepted by the Arab League. The Arab Liberation Army as a whole, if not withdrawn, is believed to be sufficiently under the control of the Arab League to remain quiescent during the period of trusteeship provided the Jews are also quiescent. Acts of violence by irresponsible elements are likely to continue for some time.

3. If, however, Jews react as suggested in paragraphs 1 to 7 below, there must be a corresponding effect on the Arabs. The latter will certainly not remain passive if attacked either generally or by Jewish elements. Even proclamation of a Jewish Government may be enough in itself to set the Arab Liberation Army in motion and the situation in spite of trusteeship proposal may even develop on much the same lines as it would otherwise have done after 15th May, unless U.K. can provide a force sufficient to impose peace on both sides.

4. It is unlikely that new developments would so much impair the authority of the Jewish Agency as to make it unable to carry the Yishuv as a whole with it in a policy of rejection of the proposals, and its insistence on the early establishment of a Jewish State in the limits envisaged by the U.K. resolution. The Jews regard the resolution of 29th November, 1947, as an irreversibly decided Jewish right. It is of course true that the Jewish Agency at present rejects G.P.O. as its best friend and that acting regard to the future of the Jewish State the best wish of the Agency is to see annexed to G.P.O. almost all of Palestine. Nevertheless it seems likely that trusteeship proposals, unambiguous as to their intention to forestall the realization of Jewish aspirations, may excite such a mixture of bitterness and frustration that the Agency (the Jewish State Government) will produce the setting up of a provisional Jewish Government. The time at which it would do so is uncertain and it might be that it would occur even the end of the Mandate. Having taken such a step they would no doubt proceed to extend the authority of their Government to all areas of Palestine where Jewish men could impose it.

5. The Zionists, who have always predicted that U.K. would be unable to enforce their decision, and that if a Jewish State is to come into existence it must be by the force of Jewish arms, are likely to gain in prestige and adherence. This will not have a distracting effect on the Yishuv, partly because the Yishuv having in fact been compelled by its enemies to accept the trusteeship programme, there will no longer be a need for it of political principles, and partly because of recent developments in agreement. There may be renewed pressure towards a policy of military aggression against the Arabs with the object of convincing the latter that their only course is to come to terms with a community which is growing militarily stronger than they, and whose relations with the Yishuv, despite the accepted political arrangements, is able to ignore large supplies of

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INWARD TELEGRAM.

TO THE SECRETARY OF STATE FOR THE COLONIES.

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arms believed to be already prepared in Europe.

6. Blame for this turn of events at Lake Success will be laid on His Majesty's Government - indeed the Jewish press has been suggesting for some time that His Majesty's Government have been working to this end. The Agency, however, may be expected to be predominantly influenced by the necessity for avoiding a second front against British forces. Moreover although, initially, anti-British sentiments may be intensified, the strongest feeling will be against the U.S. on whom the average Jew has hitherto placed most reliance. Relatively the pro-Russian faction may at least temporarily strengthen its position, but it seems quite likely that long-term tendency will incline to the Weizmann thesis that British friendship is essential to the realisation of Jewish aims.

7. In view of Hagana's U.S. agreement - one of whose principal provisions is thought to be the discontinuance of the latter's attacks on British forces - reprisals for the part attributed to His Majesty's Government in bringing about the new situation may be confined to the Stern Group. Since the latter is now believed to be under Russian direction and has no roots in America, U.S. endeavours to counter it are unlikely to be effective.

Disseminated to:

Secretary of State
Sir A. Lloyd
Mr. Keen-Williams
Sir C. Gaine
Sir C. Jeffries
Mr. Holding
Mr. Martin

Mr. Smith
Mr. Ambrose
Mr. Hignett
Mr. Galsworthy
Mr. Palmer
Mr. Dale

Foreign Office -
War Office (M.O.4.) -
Cabinet Offices -

Mr. H. Beoley.
Lt. Col. Charteris.
Col. Sherman.

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<p>E 3939 / 4 <i>18</i> <i>31/6</i> U.K. Deln New York 994 Top Secret dated 24 Mar 41</p>	<p>Position of Palestine Commission</p>	
<p>Last Paper. E3894</p>	<p>(Minutes.) <i>Note para 3</i></p>	
<p>References.</p>	<p>U.N. (Political) Dept. <i>V. 15.4</i> <i>Dr Balfour 30/3</i> <i>H.B. 11/4</i></p>	
<p>(Print.)</p>		
<p>(How disposed of.)</p>		
<p>(Action completed.) <i>W 3/2</i></p>	<p>(Index.) <i>V</i> <i>W 4/4</i></p>	
<p>Next Paper.</p>		

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CYPHER/OTP

FILES

FROM NEW YORK TO FOREIGN OFFICE

(From United Kingdom Delegation to the United Nations)

No. 994.

D: 3.47 p.m. 27th March, 1948.

27th March, 1948.

R: 10.00 p.m. 27th March, 1948.

IMMEDIATE

E3939

TOP SECRET

Please pass following to Jerusalem.

[Begins]

Addressed High Commissioner Jerusalem telegram No. 247.

Your telegram No. 807.

Following for Gurney from Fletcher-Cooke.

[Begins]

My personal opinion is that Commission will be unable (repeat unable) to carry out their task under the Assembly plan. They have, in fact, informed the Security Council that they cannot (repeat not) do so without a force to implement partition and it is clear that the prospects of a force to implement partition are negligible.

2. However, until the plan is revoked or varied by another decision of the Assembly it stands, and the Commission, so long as they are in being, are bound by it and by such directions as the Security Council may give them under paragraph 14 of Section B of Part I of the plan.

3. The Security Council cannot (repeat not) revoke the Assembly plan but legal adviser here considers that Council have powers, under paragraph 14 referred to above, to suspend the Commission's activities as contemplated in the latest United States proposal.

4. The longer the present uncertainty exists, the less likely is it that a trusteeship administration can come into being on the 16th May, but I am advised that if a decision to refer the matter back to a special Assembly were taken by the Security Council next week, and if the necessary preparatory work were done by the powers chiefly concerned including the United States and ourselves, before the Assembly meet, and if any proposals which emerge from such preparatory work were approved by the Assembly without undue delay, it might (repeat might) be just possible for a trusteeship administration to come into being on the 16th May.

/5. I appreciate that

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66
New York telegram No. 994 to Foreign Office.

- 2 -

5. I appreciate that these observations do not (repeat not) answer your questions which are presumably designed to ascertain whether it can definitely be stated now (repeat now) that there will be no (repeat no) United Nations authority in Palestine to take over the administration on the 16th May, but the uncertainty here is such that these questions cannot (repeat not) be answered until the Security Council meets on the 30th March and possibly not (repeat not) even then.

6. I will telegraph again after Security Council meeting. I am sending copies of these telegrams to Martin by bag.

[Copy sent to Telegraph Section Colonial Office for transmission to Jerusalem]

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E 3955

67

30 MAR 1948

Registry Number E3955/4/51

FROM

Chancery

No. WASHINGTON 41 /49/48

Dated 22nd March

Received 30th /49/48 in Registry

United States Trusteeship Proposal.

Discusses United States initial press and wireless comment about the new United States proposal for a temporary trusteeship in Palestine. Generally, the reception of the proposal has been bad. Criticism is directed less against the proposal itself than against the vacillations of United States policy and the tendency of the Administration to view every international issue through anti-Soviet spectacles.

(Minutes.)

Last Paper.

3939

References.

(Print.)

(How disposed of.)

N. A. D. 7/4

J. B. 28/3

H. B. 1/4

(Action completed.)	(Index)
J. B. 28/3	3/12/48

Next Paper.

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68
BRITISH EMBASSY,

WASHINGTON 8, D. C.

Ref: 413/49/48

22nd March, 1948.

Dear Department,

A report will shortly be sent to the Foreign Office on initial press and wireless comment about the new United States proposal for a temporary trusteeship in Palestine. Suffice it to say for the present that the reception of the proposal has been bad. Criticism is, however, directed less against the proposal itself than against the vacillations of United States policy and the tendency of the Administration to view every international issue solely through anti-Soviet spectacles.

2. First comments from Congress were also predominantly critical though there were a few voices to be heard on the other side. Senator Taft contended that the United States should have stood firm on partition. If the new plan were accepted, he continued, the Security Council would have to send an armed force to Palestine to support the trusteeship and all the objections raised by the Administration to the use of armed force to implement partition would apply just as strongly to this proposal. Senators Ives (R., New York), Ferguson (R., Michigan), Lucas (D., Illinois), and Representatives Klein (D., New York), Bloom (D., New York), Celler (D., New York) also expressed surprise and shock. On the other hand, Senators Gurney (R., South Dakota), Chairman of the Armed Services Committee of the Senate, Elbert Thomas (D., Utah) and Representative Gossett (D., Texas) approved of the new move.

3. American Zionists were, of course, dismayed. At a special session of the National Administrative

/Council

Eastern Department,
Foreign Office,
LONDON, E.W. 1.

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Council of the Zionist Organization of America on the 21st March, Dr. Silver asserted that the new proposal would place the United States Government in the position of fighting the Jews in Palestine. This was unthinkable but he had seen many unthinkable things happen in this crazy world. He attacked Mr. Marshall's statement at Los Angeles as leaving much to be desired as to fact and accuracy. To suggest that the failure of the Security Council to accept partition as a basis for action on the 5th March and that failure of the principal powers to agree thereon were responsible, was, he said, to obscure the role played by the United States from the beginning. This was, in fact, to scuttle the partition plan, reopen the whole issue, and manoeuvre for a new Assembly meeting. To represent the United States as the champion of partition was fantastic. The oil interests had organised a campaign to defeat partition with the enthusiastic support of Mr. Forrestal, Mr. Marshall, Mr. Lovett, Mr. Loy Henderson and Mr. Norman Armour. This group had finally persuaded the President.

4. The trusteeship was, he continued, an old proposal and had been rejected. It was merely a continuation of the mandate and was comparable to the British White Paper of 1939. It made no difference what national uniforms the soldiers of the trustee would wear. The only question was who would be on the other side of the barbed wire. The United States only wanted a trusteeship because the Soviet Union would not participate therein. But the "states directly concerned" would include Lebanon, Saudi Arabia, and Egypt as well as Great Britain, and he prophesied that Great Britain would be there, either alone or with other states.

5. The only logical thing to be done was to proclaim a Jewish State in Palestine. The judgment

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of the Jews in Palestine was awaited as to whether they were strong enough to back up such a proclamation.

6. Dr. Neumann, president of the Zionist Organization of America, also spoke at this meeting. He said that it was not yet too late for President Truman to shake himself loose from this conspiracy fostered by oil profiteers. The President should be aware that the logic of the position assumed by the State Department might yet lead to the employment of an international force headed by the United States, not against the Hitlerite Mufti and his hired cut-throats, but with these assassins and against the Jews of Palestine who were the only bastion of democracy in the Near East. The President could go along with this plan of genocide or restore United States national policy to the course which he had himself charted and supported hitherto. The decent instincts of the American people were revolted by this ugly betrayal and there was, he concluded, a mounting chorus of condemnation which demanded that the administration return forthwith to the path of honour and decency.

7. A number of other Zionist and Jewish organisation, amongst which were the American Jewish Conference, the American Jewish Congress, and B'nai B'rith have also attacked the new United States proposal. Speakers for all of these castigated United States policy on much the same lines as Dr. Silver and were chiefly concerned with what they called the underhand way in which the new proposals had been worked out and put forward.

8. We are sending a copy of this letter to the United Kingdom Delegation, New York.

Yours ever,

CHANCERY.

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30 MAR 1948

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PALESTINE

Registry Number E5955/4/51

FROM

Foreign Office
Minute

No.

Dated Sir, Orme Sargent.

Received } 25rd Mar
in Registry } 30th "Palestine, Instructions to Sir Alexander
Cadogan.Discussions instructions to be sent to Sir,
Alexander Cadogan with regard to Security Council
voting on the recent United States Resolution.

Last Paper.

1955

References.

(Print.)

(How disposed of.)

(Minutes.)

In P.P. Minute M'Beckley 23/3

therefrom
20/5

H.B. 1/4

(Action
completed.)

J. C. M. 2/4

(Index.)

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Next Paper.

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PALESTINE

30 MAR 1948

Instructions for Sir A. Cadogan.

The Security Council will shortly be called upon to vote on the various parts of a complicated American resolution. It will be necessary to instruct Sir A. Cadogan before the vote takes place, and since it is just possible that this will happen at the next Meeting of the Security Council on Wednesday 24th March, it will be desirable to telegraph instructions not later than the morning of that day.

2. We do not yet know the final form in which the American resolution will be presented to the Security Council: but it seems possible that separate votes will be taken on the following proposals:-

- (i) That the Security Council should take action to bring about a truce.
- (ii) That the Security Council should request the Secretary-General to convene a special session of the General Assembly.
- (iii) That the Security Council should recommend to the Assembly the establishment of an interim United Nations Trusteeship for Palestine.
- (iv) That the Palestine Commission should meanwhile suspend its activities.
- (v) That the question of Palestine should be removed from the Agenda of the Security Council (thus enabling the Assembly to make recommendations.)

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3. During the two sessions of the General Assembly which have dealt with Palestine, the United Kingdom Delegation have consistently abstained from voting. There is obviously much to be said for continuing to abstain now that the matter is before the Security Council. But it has to be remembered that, owing to the rules for voting in the Security Council, an abstention there is indistinguishable in its effect from a negative vote. In normal circumstances (that is to say when the veto is not used), a proposal in the Security Council needs seven affirmative votes. An abstention, therefore, reduces its chances to exactly the same extent as a negative vote. It follows that, if the United Kingdom Delegation abstains on the American proposals, ^{may have the} it will in effect be opposing of preventing their adoption.

4. To abstain on all parts of the American Resolution would thus seem to be a most emphatic rejection of the United States Government's plea for our support. In fact it is theoretically possible that the abstention of the United Kingdom Delegation might be the decisive vote in a defeat of the new American policy. In determining the attitude which the Delegation should adopt, we have therefore to balance the advantages of absolute formal neutrality against the disadvantages of acting in a way which might jeopardize the success of the new American initiative. This would be undesirable, not only because we do not wish to be associated with the Soviet Union in opposition to the United States Government on this

issue.

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issue, but also because certain of the American proposals constitute from our point of view an important step in the right direction. The proposals to suspend action on the partition plans, to call for a truce and to reconvene the Assembly, offer indeed the only practicable way out of the present deadlock.

5. *Bwt* It is difficult to see how we could justify a vote in favour of an interim United Nations trusteeship over Palestine (point (iii) in paragraph 2 above). We have hitherto refused to recommend, sponsor, or in any way support or oppose any substantive proposal for the future Government of Palestine.

6. There are, however, parts of the American Resolution to which this objection would not apply with equal force. These are the call for a truce, the request for a special session of the Assembly and the removal of the question from the Agenda of the Security Council (points 1, 2 and 3 in paragraph 2 above). It might indeed be difficult to justify an abstention on the proposal for a truce, particularly in view of the fact that an abstention would have exactly the same effect as a negative vote. Furthermore, it is for consideration whether Sir A. Cadogan should not endeavour to secure, preferably on the initiative of some other Delegation, the insertion of a specific reference to Jerusalem in the truce proposal. The proposal to convene a special session of the Assembly is the heart of the new American policy, and it is perhaps on this point especially that they will hope for our support. The removal of the item from the

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Security Council's Agenda would be a consequential decision.

7. A more difficult case is presented by the proposal that the Security Council should instruct the Palestine Commission to suspend its activity. If this proposal were defeated, while at the same time the proposal to convene a special session of the Assembly were carried, the Commission would be in a somewhat awkward situation. Their difficulties, however, would be of a procedural kind, and it is unlikely that they would in fact seriously complicate the situation. It is suggested that the overriding consideration here is that a vote in favour of this part of the American Resolution would amount to a more direct vote against partition than would support of those parts of the Resolution mentioned in paragraph 6 above, and that Sir A. Cadogan should therefore abstain.

8. It is therefore recommended:-

- (a) That Sir A. Cadogan be instructed to abstain from voting on points iii and iv in paragraph 2 above.
- (b) That he should be instructed to vote in favour of points i, ii and v in paragraph 2 above.

H. Bealey 23/3

I do not like our getting mixed up in this proposal for a truce. A simple appeal to both states to stop scrapping would have no result. It would have to be followed up
by/

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by meetings, discussions and negotiations which, I fear,
in their turn are bound to prove abortive.

If meanwhile we have voted for a truce we should be
compelled to take our share in trying to bring it about and
this would mean participating in all the useless negotiations
which this would involve and, what is worse, we should be told
that since we are thus working for a truce we clearly cannot
remove our administration in Palestine and that in fact without
the help of our administration it would be impossible to carry
out the Security Council's resolution ^{for which we had voted} ~~calling for a truce~~.

I do not think therefore that we should in any way identify
ourselves with the idea of a truce and I would suggest that
Sir A. Cadogan should only vote for points (ii) and (v).

J. B. Sargent

23rd March, 1948

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